

PEACE NEWS

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Responsible Democracy BRITAIN'S NEED

ONE illusion succeeds another. Now it is the illusion of revived political vitality. Fast and furious by-elections are fought in an atmosphere of artificial isolation from the realities of Europe's suffering.

To fight British elections in 1944 on purely domestic issues, with the "war-leadership" of Churchill an accepted premiss on both sides, is irresponsible. What does Beveridge matter compared to the future of Europe? Beveridge, in isolation from the state of Europe, is a mirage. All the talk of a better domestic society, accompanied as it is by indifference or ignorance in regard to the elemental tragedy of Europe, is as immoral as it is irrational.

If it be true that the British electorate has no understanding of foreign policy, what virtue is there in British democracy? It becomes the predestined stooge of political systems which make no pretence of democracy, and conduct their foreign policy consistently on a basis of power. Herein lies the criminal folly of those who, lacking the courage to enforce a democratic foreign policy upon Churchill, now accept the foreign policy of Soviet Russia as their own. This is a complete surrender of democracy.

Avoiding the Issue

Against this background of elemental anti-democratic forces the value of the recrudescence of electioneering in this country must be estimated. Its value is then seen to be very small. It would have positive significance only if the electoral fight were between the advocates of a democratic foreign policy, to be put into action now, and the pro-Churchill nominees.

Yet this is the fight which the "independent" candidates so studiously avoid. At all costs there must be no direct challenge to the Churchill "war-leadership," which is consubstantial with a dictatorial and insensate foreign policy. Churchill arranges with Stalin that "Poland" should be "compensated" at the expense of Germany. It is a mortal insult to democracy, if it were nothing worse. But it is much worse: it is the creation of

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Finland between the Devil and the Deep

THE Russian terms to Finland—still not accepted at the time of going to press—are by current standards generous. Not only are they better than might have been expected, but they show a more realistic approach than does the barren slogan of "unconditional surrender." The British and American Governments appear to have been consulted in their drafting.

But the Finns' delay in acceptance should not have occasioned so much surprise as the British press has been showing. "The dilemma of all the satellites is the same," as The Economist (Mar. 4) points out: "if their defection would be sufficiently valuable to the Allies to secure them lenient terms, it would also be sufficiently damaging to the Germans to make them resist it by all means in their power."

The acceptance even of generous terms would not automatically mean that Finland had "got out of the war," as one British newspaper advised her to do. It might, with a German army in the North of the country, turn Finland into a battlefield—as happened with Italy.

PREPARE NOW!

THE response to my first Headquarters Fund appeal of Feb. 25 brought in £6 19s. 6d. up to Friday morning, Mar. 3. Approximately £7 in 7 days.

Best thanks to those who responded, but we shall need more! It is important to build up now what reserves we can, as opportunities may arise which demand more than our financial resources can quickly supply.

Donations, which should be marked "Headquarters Fund," will be very gratefully received by me at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE
Treasurer

WHY REFUSE TO FACE THE FACTS? PREMIER'S LACK OF VISION

THE press has played the usual game. After a week of pretending that Churchill's speech and the debate showed that everything in the garden was lovely, the voices of misgiving and criticism began to be heard.

On Feb. 29, The Times leader declared that the debate, when it touched "the more distant prospects of European reconstruction . . . revealed a picture of uncertainty and confusion."

"Unless shattered and dismembered Europe can find some new vision which looks forward rather than back, some new leadership bold enough to survey her needs and problems as a whole, her civilization will surely perish."

Why then pretend, the rest of the time, that Europe has found this leadership in Churchill? The Times knows that Churchill's leadership has failed, and is failing more grievously every day, that his vision looks back rather than forward. But never does it have the courage to say so.

The lack of moral courage in Churchill, the lack of moral courage in those who know that his leadership is disastrous—this is a moral devastation of Britain, as serious as the material devastation of Europe.

What do Voters Want?

THE uncertainty and confusion are becoming painfully manifest. The general dissatisfaction finds expression, which would be even more marked were the voters' register not obsolete, in the success of anti-Government candidates. The record of the by-elections indicates that more than half the qualified voters who record their opinion are dissatisfied with the Government. But what they want instead, who can say?

"The real root of the dilemma lies in the fact that there is no party in the land which in policy and personalities, in creed and competence combined meets the wishes of the people" (Economist, Mar. 4).

Is such a party conceivable? Not easily. "The voter is in that state of mind that he wants to deny something, only he does not know what to deny," says The Economist again. I can tell him. He wants to deny the conditions and consequences of total war. But that denial, made seriously and with full intent, would upset everything.

Denying it at by-elections is a kind of day-dreaming. "I do wish things were different," says the voter. But if it came to a question of making them different, heaven knows what he would do. He certainly does not.

Russian Tactics

THE Russians, you see, when it comes to business, have nothing to do with the nonsense of "unconditional surrender." Their offer to the

Finns may come to the same thing, but it looks different. Nor have the Russians ever talked this futile language, even to the Germans. Hannen Swaffer (Daily Herald, Mar. 2) reports:

"The BBC spokesmen have been telling the German people bluntly that it is the agreed policy of the Allied Governments to compensate Poland for her losses to Russia by extending her territories in the North and West. Yet the Moscow wireless is still permitting the veteran Communist leader, Wilhelm Pieck, to proclaim as the aim of the Free German Committee in Russia, 'the restoration of the Reich of Bismarck.'"

Heads I win, tails you lose! If the Poles were to accept the bait, on Britain would fall the guilt of having dismembered Germany. If they refuse it, on Britain is the odium of having suggested it.

Stalin Remembers

IT is extraordinary that British politicians, with the history of the inter-war period staring them in the face, proving the reluctance of the British people in time of peace to go to war to maintain a European settlement ten years after they have made it, talk of imposing upon Germany a more vindictive settlement than ever.

The excuse is that Hitler is worse than the Kaiser. Since, as

an article of faith, Britain bears no responsibility for the rise of Hitler, it follows that Britain can do her worst to Germany and bear no responsibility for the next Devil, worse than Hitler, who will emerge to put it right.

But history will not repeat itself in this exemplary fashion. Dismembered and discontented Germany will not find a vacuum to the East. On the contrary she will face a very great Power, immune from the democratic foible of committing injustice and being too weak—or too high-minded to insist upon maintaining it. Germany, this time, will fall into the arms of Russia. And Russia is making the way easy. Stalin remembers things, if Churchill cannot.

Our Moral Purpose

WE had the choice: either to offer, as we did at the beginning, a just peace to Germany, a peace based on principle which she could have had at any time she was ready to make the sacrifice required; or to do what we have now done—deny that the Germans are entitled to the benefit of any principle of justice whatever, but, at best, to the benefit of the British obligation "to civilization."

That is not greatly in evidence at the moment. Yet I believe it does exist. And it exists in the form of a belief in and respect for the universality of Law. If Britain is indeed fighting for anything of moral value against Nazi Germany, it is for the recognition of principles of justice, applicable to good and bad, victor and vanquished, great and small. Deliberately to throw these principles overboard and replace them by an obligation "to civilization" with no content at all is to reduce our moral case to zero.

Pacifists have always maintained that this moral nihilism was the inescapable consequence of waging total war to the victory of "unconditional surrender." To give other than diabolical meaning to a process of total war, the surrender demanded must be a surrender to principles. By persistently denying this—by insisting in 1940 that it was "a fight for survival" merely, and now in 1944, for "victory" merely—Churchill has deprived his own country of moral purpose. It may sound unimportant: but the consequences will be grave indeed.

What Kind of Power?

THE consequences are visible already. The moral meaninglessness of the conflict is reflected in the discontent without objective uttered in the elections. It is reflected in our impotence to put forward a plan for a peaceful Europe that stands on its

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Allies Dump the Cargo

AS Mr. Churchill was speaking of the state of the Three Power Alliance, which, he said, had lost no ground since Teheran, I had an uneasy vision of a large balloon carrying in its basket Marshal Stalin, President Roosevelt, and the Prime Minister.

"The balloon's course was erratic, and it appeared to be losing height. However, Marshal Stalin stood up and was soon in command of the situation.

"As he addressed his two companions, I thought I heard him saying that if the balloon continued to lose altitude he would have to bale out, but it would be preferable, first, to throw overboard some of the valuable cargo.

"Accordingly, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt began, a little reluctantly, perhaps, to heave over the side some cases variously labelled 'Atlantic Charter,' 'Democracy,' 'Old Friends and Allies,' 'Four Freedoms,' etc. After which the balloon began to gain height again, but appeared to be travelling backwards.

"A curious and disturbing dream, you will agree, which I immediately sought to put out of my mind.

"But similar thoughts seem to have crept into the minds of some MPs who expressed in varying degrees their concern at the apparent abandonment of the principles on which our just cause rested so firmly in 1940."

—Alastair Forbes in an article in the Daily Mail, Feb. 29, on the Prime Minister's speech in the Commons on the war situation.

"Naturally"

WHILE only a few meetings under Mol auspices have taken the Atlantic Charter as their subject, its principles are naturally used as a text whenever a speaker has occasion to discuss the war aims of the United Nations," said Mr. Brendan Bracken, Minister of Information, in answer to a parliamentary question on Mar. 1.

Apt comment was contained in a supplementary question from Mr. Rhys Davies: "If the Minister is to arrange any meetings for explaining the principles of the Atlantic Charter, will he inform the speakers that the Prime Minister has told us already that the Charter does not apply to India, Burma, or Germany?"

Mr. Bracken replied: "I should imagine that the purpose of the meeting would be, not to give instruction in geography, but to explain the principles of the Charter."

When Sir Herbert Williams then asked:

"Having regard to the fact that this raises controversial issues, is it not entirely improper that Government money should be spent on explaining a Charter, the meaning of which nobody actually knows, and where you do understand it, it is rotten?"

Mr. Bracken replied:

"That question once again poses the dilemma which often faces the Ministry of Information. One hon. Member desires a discussion on a certain subject, and another hon. Member does not."

Threat to Peace

MR. CHURCHILL'S policy is "morally indefensible and politically disastrous" and "likely both to prolong the war and to endanger gravely the prospects of an enduring peace," says a statement issued by the National Peace Council, which expresses "the utmost disquiet."

The Council believes that the Premier's speech foreshadows the surrender of the method of democratic principle to the method of power-politics. "The implications of such a policy," it adds, "are momentous enough to call for urgent and uncompromising repudiation by all who cherish the hope of a constructive and enduring peace. For the surrender, if and when it is made, would mark the certain prelude to a third world war."

PEACE NEWS

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All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

BIRTH-RATE

A ROYAL Commission has been appointed to inquire into the causes of the decline of the birth-rate and to recommend measures for checking it. In a speech to the College of Physicians on Mar. 3 the Prime Minister with characteristic rhetoric said:

"Science, now so largely perverted to destruction, must raise its glittering shield not only over the children but over the mothers, not only over the family, but over the home."

Science will have to rummage hard to find this "glittering shield." Rhetoric is not argument, and science is not omnipotent. The reality of a decline in the rate of reproduction statistical science can indeed establish. It can prophesy what will happen if present trends are unchanged. But when it comes to altering those trends, what can Science do?

The fact appears to be that when a nation's economy is expanding its rate of reproduction increases. In Britain, after a prodigious leap in the earlier years of the 19th century, the decline began to be marked in the early 'nineties—roughly the moment at which the competitive pressure of the new industrialisms of USA and Germany were seriously felt in this country. The brief sense of unlimited opportunity began to disappear. A similar change came over the American scene a generation later. At the present time only Russia offers to parents and children the sense of unlimited opportunity. And that in the main is due to the basically socialized economy of Russia. If the possession of vast colonizable territories were decisive, USA would still be increasing its rate of reproduction. But the competitive economy of capitalism forbids such expansion. The period over which competitive capitalism can create the sense of unlimited opportunity is severely limited.

But is there any reason to believe the rate of reproduction would never decline under a socialist economy? None that we can see. It is established that when a certain standard of life is reached the rate of reproduction automatically begins to decline. The Russian economy, by spreading the increased standard more widely, will perhaps extend the period after which decline sets in. But it is highly improbable that Russia, under her present economy, will ever achieve the density of population of China.

For, we suspect, man comes up against something elemental. Obviously the only way to support a maximum population for the world considered as a whole is to cultivate the earth intensively—pending the dubious millennium when Science will have invented ways of extracting human nourishment directly from the air and the sea. On the basis of intensive agriculture China has had 4,000 years of continuous and stable civilization. The machine-culture of today is not two centuries old, and its most striking achievement so far is its increase in the rate of human devastation. Has Russia herself broken through the impasse of the machine-culture? Will not she too have somehow to assimilate and re-establish the Chinese pattern? Will not we?

The Chinese throughout their civilization have regarded war and soldiering—even the victorious invader—with contempt. That is the necessary ethical corollary of a stable civilization based on intensive agriculture. Russia, at the present moment, seems bent on re-establishing the false military values and the false agriculture of the West. But Russia may learn. She has time to learn and she has an open mind. Has Britain either?

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The story of some C.O.s who became Human Guinea-Pigs

and "made a unique contribution to science"

FOR the last three years I have been carrying out medical research on a number of problems and thirty-five pacifist volunteers have served as "subjects" for these experiments. This has given me—for I am in no way a pacifist myself—a unique opportunity for studying this group of pacifists, and my observations may perhaps be of some interest to the readers of Peace News.

When the first pacifist volunteers took up residence in the Sorby Research Institute, Sheffield, in January, 1941, I must confess that I was pretty nervous. I had been warned that they would be quarrelsome both with me and among themselves, that they would be cranky in every possible and impossible way, and that they would be entirely devoid of any sense of humour! I determined that on no account would I ever allow our beliefs, politics, religion or pacifism to enter into the conversation, but even so I foresaw some very difficult moments.

In fact things turned out very differently. The main point was that the volunteers had a sense of humour, and, like most people with sincerely held views, they were able and willing to see the funny side of a situation, even when it included themselves, and they could laugh at themselves without in any way relaxing the very real strength of their beliefs.

This Institute has been, in effect, a pacifist community, though the reason for its existence—medical research—is rather different from that of all other communities and (perhaps fortunately) it has been entirely financed from public funds, so that we have not had to depend on the earning powers of the members. All domestic problems, the management of the household and the formulation of any necessary rules of conduct, I have left to the volunteers themselves, partly because I think they should manage these things themselves and partly from a desire to avoid personal responsibility for difficult decisions!



WHAT then do I think of these volunteers after these years? The first thing that must be said is unqualified praise.

The volunteers were recruited, mainly through the Pacifist Service Units and Pacifist Service Bureau as "human guinea pigs," to be subjected to all sorts of more or less un-

pleasant experiences. Throughout the whole period they have consistently co-operated in this work with complete loyalty and have never wanted to "cry off" because something was too unpleasant. In fact, time and time again, when I have thought that something which was still giving fruitful results should be stopped as too unpleasant for a volunteer, he himself has asked me to continue so long as the experiment was worth doing.

Outside the experimental work the volunteers seem to me to be, on the whole, very like any other random selection of people, including hard workers and those who are less strenuous (or perhaps I should say more given to meditation?) as well as differing widely in their beliefs, prejudices, and types of mentality.

In one thing they differ from certain other experimental volunteers, that is, they always try to take an intelligent interest in all investigations and want to know why at every stage. This is a salutary experience for the research worker, and though sometimes it may be very difficult to give a straightforward explanation to the layman the attempt makes for clear thinking as well as harmonious co-operation.

Space does not allow me to give details of the work we have done, or even to describe all that this has meant to the volunteers. We started for the specific purpose of studying scabies, and for over two years the majority of the subjects suffered from this disease, sometimes for more than six months at a stretch.

I realize that some of the volunteers did not get a decent undisturbed night's rest for months, and was not surprised when soldiers, treated by them for the disease, on hearing about the experiments, almost invariably stated that they would infinitely prefer life in the Army!

Several of the men then spent months on a very restricted diet in a study of the properties of National Wheatmeal bread; during this period they had to weigh all their food accurately and collect all their waste products (which made a day's cycling a most complicated problem). Several periods of three or more days were spent with no water to drink, or with only a very small quantity, in the process of investigating conditions experienced after shipwreck. "Surgical shock" has been simulated by injections of specific substances on a number of occasions. And a current dietary experiment, imposing the most tedious restrictions, has continued for over eighteen months.

LETTERS

Common Wealth

AS the wife of the chairman of a Common Wealth branch, and also as a pacifist, I should like to explain to Leonard Duthie that "the selection of parliamentary candidates with high-marked war records" is, I think, a recognition that those who have sacrificed most in the war should have first say in the winning of the peace.

I agree with him as to the very obvious inconsistency in the Common Wealth outlook. (They are, in fact, national socialists with a pious faith in the evolution of internationalism "after the war.") At the same time, credit must be given to them for effectively having broken the political truce, and they are doing most valuable work as a ginger group, and in uniting all the progressive parties. That seems a sufficient justification for their existence, and personally I use the branch as a means of spreading pacifist faith.

DOROTHY JAMESON

Walnut Tree Cottage, Little Marlow, Bucks.

Mr. Leonard Duthie does well to issue a warning to pacifists against Common Wealth. Mr. Duthie could have included all the other parties of the Left and his words would have remained as pertinent. Elsewhere in your issue of Feb. 18 you point out that the war is revealed as a struggle for power now that our "progressives" have abandoned their previously held principles in the face of the Soviet demands upon the once fiercely championed small nations. However, to a "progressive" the war will still appear as a struggle between the opposed ideologies of Nazism-cum-Fascism and Marxism-cum-Fabianism. As I hold that all these "isms" are but variants of a parent religion, socialism, to which I cannot subscribe, the war would appear as a Comedy of Errors, were it not tragic.

I read that Mr. Hilditch in a recent by-election stood for Peace and Socialism. Is there necessarily any connection between the two? Cannot a Conservative pray for peace? Must one with no politics at all be a

militarist? Must a democrat be a pacifist? George Gissing once wrote "Peace, after all, is the aspiration of the few."

I. WAVENEY GIRVAN

Motives and Means

One of your readers has pointed out to me that my calling a movement for a negotiated peace an example of minority-mindedness hurts the feelings of many—including herself, whose chief notion in supporting such a movement is to save the innocent children from the further horrors of war.

I should like to say that I did not intend to hurt anyone and I feel very deeply the motives which guide this particular reader's actions. But it seems to me a question of uniting on the form of action most likely to bring measurable results. I may of course be entirely wrong in my judgment—as my correspondent says "I feel that no human body can really judge whether a thing is or is not hopeless"—but I pray that my heart is not hardened against the feelings which prompt those who urge a negotiated peace.

MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE

W.E.A. Opportunities

As a factory worker, I most strongly support T. H. Illingworth's letter. In the past eight years I have found the WEA a most healthy and stimulating body, well worthy of support. Discussion in its classes affords a first-class opportunity for putting forward the views of COs on social and international problems for consideration and criticism by non-pacifists of varied political and religious outlook.

It also effectively counteracts a tendency into which COs might fall, by virtue of being an unpopular minority in the State, of grouping themselves together with people of like opinion, concerned more with the finer differences of pacifist principles and the righteousness of their own position and unaware of the real sincerity with which many non-pacifists are trying to discover and find ways and means of removing the root causes of war.

BOB RUTHERFORD

10 Harvey Lane, Norwich.

Told by

Kenneth Mellanby

Research Fellow of the Royal Society, and University Lecturer



The author has been engaged in research since 1930—in Britain, Central Africa, and Arctic Finland. In 1940 he put forward a scheme for the Sorby Research Institute on problems of human biology and obtained financial backing from the Ministry of Health for work on scabies, etc., in which he had the assistance of conscientious objectors. He also described this work in a talk in the BBC feature, "The World Goes By," on Feb. 23. At the end of the talk Freddie Grisewood, the well-known broadcaster, said he was "lost with admiration" for the volunteers.

The most remarkable thing about the experimental work is, to my mind, the way in which the volunteers have stuck these really tedious experiments for such long periods—far longer periods than any other "human" experiments carried out elsewhere.

I feel that all credit is due to anyone who volunteers for any hazard, be it medical experiment or military situation, which is obviously a danger to life, but I think that most people would agree that it is more difficult to withstand a dull and restricting régime, which must often seem hardly worth while, and must always seem quite unheroic, for these very long periods.

We find we have set up a new standard for endurance with our experiments, for we now consider a mere three months' subjection to a diet a "short-term experiment": those working with previous volunteers would have considered three months somewhere near to the limits of human endurance.

I cannot attempt to evaluate the importance of the results we have obtained from our experimental work at the Sorby Research Institute, but I can say that we have obtained a good many results which have already proved of practical importance, and the other conclusions which may at present appear more "academic" will some day fill in some parts of the complicated pattern which go to make up scientific progress. The volunteers have undoubtedly made a unique contribution to medical science.

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The Development Secretary reports

MANY PPU groups have great difficulty in planning their programmes because of the lack of suitable speakers.

Realizing this, several Areas have devised speakers' schemes offering groups qualified speakers at very reasonable fees, to cover expenses. To my knowledge four Areas—Yorkshire, West Midlands, London, and Southern—are running such schemes at the present time. Groups interested are advised to get in touch with their Area Secretary to make full use of the opportunities afforded for expert guidance on a great variety of subjects related to pacifist thought and action. Groups should also remember that they can now obtain the services of "national" speakers, on the Headquarters' panel, for an inclusive payment of 15s. only.

* * *

My recent reference to the distance travelled by our Bishop Auckland Secretary to his group meeting has provoked a number of interesting letters from members who regularly make long journeys to their local group meeting. No prizes were offered but if I had a "monthly medal", to present it would go to a member in Liverpool who cycles 10 miles, despite the fact that he is not a group official, to be present at the Crosby group meetings.

* * *

My concern to do something practical for Food Relief caused me to volunteer some time ago for pre-armistice work with the IVSP. Having been accepted for service with the next unit to leave this country I have resigned my position as Secretary to the National Development Committee, as from the end of this month. I know that this bald announcement must come as a shock to many members but I can assure them that my devotion and loyalty to the PPU are unimpaired. Just as I had an overwhelming desire to strengthen our organization at a critical period in the autumn of 1942, now my hope is that I can do something, even if it prove to be pitifully small, to help the war-ravaged people of some European country back to health again.

The evidence of our healthy financial state is an indication of improved organization which should afford us legitimate pleasure with the job of work we have done together during the last eighteen months. If we were spending our money as effectively as we are now raising it we could, perhaps, be more pleased with ourselves; but the Development scheme having grown out of its teething troubles I feel that I can accept this new avenue of service without reproach. Next month I hope to attempt a summary of my past experience and future hopes of the PPU.

* * *

During the last month I have been notified of a new Contact-Member: Mr. D. F. Ray, The Brotherhood of the Way, The Abbey, Hoxne, near Diss. My work, this month, will take me to Groups in the East Anglia, Southern and Devon and Cornwall Areas.

ALBERT E. TOMLINSON.

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HOOVER PLEADS FOR SPEED IN FOOD RELIEF

"No Need for Half-measures"

Senator Taft: "I have only one question, and that is whether you regard time in this thing as of the essence?"

Ex-President Hoover: "I do, because the winter is coming on. If we started tomorrow, the quickest we could get an organization going and food actually reaching these people would be 60 days."

THIS exchange was perhaps the high-spot of the remarkable testimony of Hoover before the sub-committee of the US Senate which considered and approved the "food relief now" resolution (PN Feb. 25) recently passed by the full Senate unanimously.

Hoover was asked why France was excluded from the scope of the resolution. He explained that when the resolution was drafted France was not an occupied country, but that he would now include France, adding: "We have taken up the feeding of French prisoners in Germany. We are prepared to feed the husband if he is a prisoner; we are not prepared to feed his children if they are starving."

"NO HALF-MEASURES"

In describing "the scope of the feeding operation in these countries that you think could be carried out," Hoover replied:

"It is not a question of spreading foodstuffs generally amongst the population. It is a question of supplying the soup-kitchens, where people eat on the spot . . . In this case we need to supply soup making materials and special food for children . . . So that relief becomes a question of shipping meats and fats and supplies for children.

"I do not believe in half-measures by trying to feed people on vitamins and pills. If we are going to do a thing like this, we should do it with a full and generous hand. But even a full and generous hand to the areas which we could reach—there are many areas of starvation in Europe that I do not think are reachable—probably does not involve 150,000 tons of food a month. That amount of food is obtainable outside the US, and I think probably could be transported within the limits of Swedes tonnage."

Hoover submitted detailed food statistics compiled by the official information bureaux of the various occupied countries, on the basis of which he agreed with a Senator who asked: "So that those countries are, roughly speaking, from one-third to two-thirds of what is considered an essential requirement, and the US. say, 50 per cent. over what is considered an essential requirement?"

He told the story of his 1940-41

NEW PAMPHLETS, with Poems. No. I on Penal Reform, with intr. by Stuart Morris; No. II "Still Towards Democracy," with a foreword by the Duke of Bedford, by Alan Hadfield, M.A. Cantab. Post free 1s. 7d. each. Northern Lights Press, 16 Park Pde. Harrogate.

MEETINGS, etc.

CANON CHARLES RAVEN on "The Christian Churches and the Making of Peace." Kingsway Hall, W.C.2, Fri. Mar. 17, at 1.10 p.m. Admission free. National Peace Council.

QUAKERS AND TEMPERANCE REFORM. Public lunch-hour address, Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, by James H. Hudson, Mar. 14, at 1.20 p.m.

RETROSPECTIVE EXHIBITION. The work of Maxwell Armfield, R.W.S., P.P.U. At the R.W.S. Galleries, 26 Conduit St., W.1, Mar. 18-25, daily 10-5.

BOURNEMOUTH Post-War Reconstruction Group, 5 Wellington Road, Fri. Mar. 17, 7.30 p.m., Patrick Figgis: "The Basis of Post-War Reconstruction."

YORKSHIRE AREA Rally will be held in the Mill Hill School room, City Sq., Leeds, Mar. 18, 3 p.m. Speaker: Dr. Alex Wood.

CHANTICLEER THEATRE Club, Clareville St., S.W.3 (Gloce. Rd. and S. Ken. Tubes). Opening Mar. 14. "Hundred Years Old" by Quintero. Tues. to Sat. evngs. 7 p.m. Thur. Sat. and Sun. mat. 3 p.m. Mem. only. Details KEN 7577.

WILLIAM WINSTONLEY or "What Is Pacifism?" 8 Endsleigh Gdns., 3.30 p.m., Sat., Mar. 11. Discussion conducted by Frederick Lohr.

ADELPHI THEATRE, Sun., Mar. 19, at 2.30 p.m. First performance of "A Child of Our Time," oratorio by Michael Tippett. Tickets from Box Office, Adelphi Theatre, W.C.2.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN 19 Tiv. Frv. Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

MEMBERS of the London Co-operative Society wishing to sign the Armistice resolution being submitted to the London Co-operative Society's half-yearly meeting should communicate with Will Coppin, 130 Balfour Rd., Ilford. The last date for signing will be Mar. 20—so do it now.

March 10, 1944, PEACE NEWS—3

Words of Peace—63

Fashions in Morality . . .

IVE by old Ethicks and the classical Rules of Honesty. Put no new names or notions upon Authentick Virtues and Vices. Think not that Morality is Ambulatory: that Vices in one age are not Vices in another; or that Virtues, which are under the everlasting Seal of right Reason, may be Stamped by Opinion. And therefore, though vicious times invert the opinions of things, and set up a new Ethicks against Virtue, yet hold thou unto old Morality; and rather than follow a multitude to do evil, stand like Pompey's Pillar conspicuous by thy self, and single in Integrity. And since the worst of times afford imitable Examples of Virtue, since no Deluge of Vice is like to be so general but more than eight will escape; eye well those Heroes who have held their Heads above Water, who have touched Pitch and not been defiled, and in the common Contagion have remained uncorrupted.

—Sir Thomas Browne, 1716.

INDIAN RESISTER COURT-MARTIALLED

Suresh Vaidya, the Indian resident in Britain who was arrested for declining to answer his call-up papers, was to appear before a court-martial at Canterbury on Wednesday of this week. We hope to publish a report of the case in our next issue.

Only a formal acknowledgment has been received of the letter sent to the Prime Minister by thirty well-known people asking that neither Vaidya nor any other Indian should be conscripted for the British forces.

THE GERMAN DID NOT FIRE

In the recent fighting in Italy the Americans crossed the Rapido river. On the second day they had to retreat. "Some swam across the Rapido," says Time (Feb. 7). "Others formed human chains. A sergeant tied wire to a pick, and hurled the pick across the river until it stuck behind a rock. Seven men then pulled themselves across. All the equipment was left behind. A huge German tommy-gunner on the bank shouted: 'Hey, Yank, don't you want to surrender?' But he did not fire."

All available space for DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS in NEXT ISSUE is already booked.

HOME AND SALARY offered elderly woman or wife C.O. Light housework and help to old lady (not bedridden), no cooking, Highgate district. Box 355.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

PACIFIST, 25, Honours Law Tripos Cambridge, inexperienced, seeks work legal office any part. Exemption suitable. Box 342.

AUTHOR, accurate typist, with experience of historical and scientific work, would undertake copying and arranging of MSS, so as to continue literary work for which exempted. Box 344.

2 C.O.s require situations Bristol district. Good motor drivers and workers. Transport, food distribution. Box 348.

INTELLIGENT TYPING all classes at moderate prices. Mrs. Devereux, Wayside Cottage, Letchmore Heath, Watford, Herts.

UNCONDITIONALLY EXEMPT male; 28; married; organizing experience, secretarial and accountancy, industrial welfare officer; literary interests; initiative, required worthwhile and absorbing settled job anywhere, preferably in country. Box 349.

SECRETARIAL WORK (temporarily) urgently needed. K.M., Avonmore Rd., W.14, FUL 5619.

YOUNG WOMAN seeks light duties, domestic, farm, etc. Recovering, serious illness, must live in open air. Box 354.

TEACHER required next term at Coventry and also address below: general elementary subjects; good salary; nice post. Coventry Preparatory School, Bryn Aber Hall, Llanrhaidr, Oswestry, Salop.

MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

EVIL OVERCOME wonderfully and peaceably by seeing through its stupidity, unreality, etc., to the pure good beyond. You can be taught, even postally, how to do this by the new advanced teaching becoming known as "Spiritualization of Thought." Inquiries should be addressed to Box 348.

VEGETARIAN PACIFIST Society seeks synthesis of pacifism, vegetarianism, food reform, psychology, philosophy, and the whole of life. Inquiries, Box 350.

Are you a regular reader of Peace News? If not, write to 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, and we will arrange for you to be supplied every week.

C.O.'s Eighth Prosecution

SENTENCE UPHELD

THE appeal by George P. Elphick of Lewes, against the sentence imposed at his eighth prosecution for failing to do fire-guard duties, was dismissed with costs at Quarter Sessions Appeal Committee for East Sussex on Saturday.

At the police court he had been fined £10, with the alternative of two months' imprisonment, and had refused to pay the fine.

"In our judgment," said the chairman of the Appeal Committee, when announcing the decision, "the sentence is by no means too harsh a penalty. This man has said 'I am going to show that I put myself above the State.' Changes in the law should be achieved through the King in Parliament."

(George Elphick has already served three prison terms of 28 days and one of two months. On one occasion the case was withdrawn and on another the proceedings were found not to be in order and he was found "not guilty.")

REFUSED TO PAY WAR DAMAGE CONTRIBUTION

At Hastings police court on Feb. 24 Winifred and Kathleen Rawlins of Berkhamsted were summoned for a second time for refusing to pay War Damage Contribution on their house. The sum involved was £6.

Winifred Rawlins told the magistrates that, believing all war to be wrong, she and her sister were unable to consent to any measure which put this country on a war basis.

The court made an order for immediate payment and, in default of this, the sum was to be recovered by distraint, together with 13s. costs.

THE EASTER MESSAGE

by Carl Heath

2d. by post from

FRIENDS' PEACE COMMITTEE,
Friends' House, Euston Rd., N.W.1.

RALLY against all forms of RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

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C.B.C.O., 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

DO YOU BELIEVE IN THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE?

DOES YOUR CHURCH STAND FOR THOSE THINGS YOU BELIEVE?

If not

Write for copies of the "Case for a Pacifist Church" to Wallace Hancock, 21 Raymont Avenue, E.18 (1d. each, plus 1d. postage).

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Catarrh and Chest Troubles. Send only 6d. stamps for FREE TRIAL Natural Remedy. Gypsy Petulengro (Dept. A46), Boscombe, Bournemouth.

PETULENGRO famous B.B.C. ROMANY

RESPONSIBLE DEMOCRACY

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

a Europe in which a democratic foreign policy for Britain is inconceivable—a Europe which will make the continuance of democracy in England itself impossible.

So, in the election fight, the British people fiddles while Rome is burning. It plays at democracy, while the grave of democracy is being dug at Teheran or Timbuctoo. Churchill is no democrat: rather the last survivor of the Whig aristocracy. That is doomed anyhow. So what does Churchill care for the future? Since all he cares for is wars, and preparation of wars, what has a democratic Europe to offer him, if he were to live to see it?

Nothing at all. Democracy and totalitarian war are for ever and for ever incompatible. Where total war is possible, there democracy is doomed. The democracy which accepts even as a temporary stop-gap the idea of a Europe wherein total war is possible—which accepts as "reasonable and just" the notion that Russia should be permitted a "strategic frontier"—has consented to its own death.

The Only Hope

This is the only real political issue in the world today. On this issue and no other should the elections be fought. The rest of the issues are eyewash. On this one depends whether 100 per cent. Beveridge is dope for the victims of the next war, or something different; whether education is, or is not, to be the preparation of children's minds and bodies (to 17 plus if need be) for the next bout of mindless barbarism.

Unless the British democracy can rise to this elementary conception, and rise to it quickly, it is doomed. Acland's circus merely provides the defunctive music. Alderman White is the corner-man. All pitiful comic appendages to the tragic procession of democracy dancing its way to death.

Only responsible democracy in England can save democracy in the world today. If British democracy cannot rise to responsibility, then Europe cannot achieve it. If British democracy has nothing better to offer Europe than Churchillism, then it has deserved to die. Europe will be resurrected, after its agony and death, into we know not what. But we shall not share its resurrection, because we shall not have shared its death. We shall have kept our "freedom" to the last and used it to hang ourselves.

J.M.M.

Causes of Bengal Famine Still Remain

THE "widespread impression that the famine is now over and that all the survivors in Bengal now have plenty of rice to eat" was shown to be unjustifiably complacent in a letter from Horace G. Alexander published in the Manchester Guardian (Mar. 3). "In fact," he wrote, "the price of rice remains so high that it is doubtful whether even now the poorer cultivating classes are able to get adequate supplies. The famine was caused, in large measure, by failure to take early steps to ensure proper distribution of the available rice: there is no clear evidence that those defects of distribution have been remedied. In spite of the famine mortality (we still do not know whether Mr. Amery's ill-chosen phrase 'not more than a million' was one of his many understatements) the pressure of an increasing population on the means of subsistence continues."

Horace Alexander quoted from an article in the Statesman of Calcutta which contracted the disastrous lack of foresight in 1942-3 and the wise measures which were taken in 1873-4, when "some twenty million people were affected," but "government at every stage stood vigorously ahead of events, so that in that year there was absolutely no mortality from starvation."

This "vigorous anticipatory action," he pointed out, "was taken in part because public opinion in England demanded it. In 1944 public opinion must demand it again."

The estimate of 3½ million abnormal deaths due to famine and disease in

Bengal, made by the Anthropological Department of Calcutta University (quoted by "Observer" in PN last week) was the subject of a question by Mr. R. Sorensen in the Commons on Mar. 2.

Mr. R. A. Butler replied on behalf of Mr. Amery, Secretary for India: "... It would appear that the survey ... covered only 816 families, with a total membership of 3,840, spread over eight districts." If this is true it would be, as Mr. Butler went on to say, "an inadequate basis for an estimate of mortality over the whole of Bengal." But it will be noted that in the letter quoted above Horace Alexander, who has first-hand knowledge of India, is not prepared to accept Mr. Amery's own figure without question.

WHAT IS OUR PLAN FOR EUROPE?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

own feet: that is, to put justice in the forefront, in the faith and hope that it will gather power behind it.

Power, say our obtuse Machiavellis, comes first. Thereby, they hand over the future to the Powers which will devote themselves to the maintenance of power. Britain cannot, and will not. The Commonwealth is not an Empire: it is a democracy. No democracy can devote itself to the maintenance of power and remain a democracy. The Commonwealth is a

democracy of democracies: doubly incapacitated from making military power its prime objective. If Britain cannot take the risk of identifying herself with peace based on justice, she must become that miserable thing: a Power without power—in capable of mobilizing moral power.

Moral power does not exist, say the modern "realists," from Churchill to Niebuhr. But if it does not, justice is a dream. Thrasymachus and Hobbes are right: human existence is "nasty, brutish and short." I believe otherwise. "I believe that 'without vision the people perish,'" Churchill, by denying them the vision of justice, has condemned them to perish.

The New Pattern

WHERE are we? asks The Observer (Mar. 5) and quotes the comment of the Turkish radio on Churchill's speech and the debate.

"The original Anglo-Saxon scheme for Europe consisted of independent States, federations comprising these States, and finally a comprehensive League based on such federations. Russia then advanced the claim that such a system would be inadequate to safeguard her security. The Anglo-Saxons have accepted the Russian point of view. In return Russia has acquiesced in the taking by Britain of fundamental steps to cover her own security in Western Europe and in other regions of which we know nothing."

Is that true or false? There is no sign that the House of Commons knows any more about it than I do. All one can say is that what evidence there is supports the Turkish statement: and that the statement also explains the mysterious, but admitted break-down of Anglo-Turkish negotiations. The "other regions," at a guess, are not remote from the Middle East, where the Americans are to lay a £40 million pipe-line. Where are we, indeed? Approaching the deliberate sacrifice of Europe to a temporary combination of Russian, American, and British imperialism?

Second Front

ONE has the feeling that the Second Front is being delayed by its own horrors. But it may be that we are only waiting to exhaust, if we can, the German air-reserves. "The scene of the battle is known to all," says The Observer (Mar. 5). Except to me.

Lacking expert knowledge, I ruminate on the mysteriousness of the policy which, at one and the same time, yields to the political demands of Russia (as the Turks suggest we have done) and also yields to their military demands. Is the Second Front the price to be paid for keeping Russia in the war?

Another point, not unrelated. The Second Front is likely to be the final nail in the coffin of whatever reputation we had as good Europeans. We are forced into a situation which the Germans can and will exploit. The misery into which liberation has plunged Southern Italy is admitted. "The Germans are attempting to make the French hate the Second Front before it comes" (Observer, Mar. 5). They do not need to be very clever to succeed. *Cui bono?*

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C.O.s in the Post-War World

advisory bureaux organization throughout the country seems to me an obvious advantage for the huge task of rehabilitation before us.

ERNEST A. WHITTAKER

* It should be remembered that the work of the PSB is by no means confined to employment matters concerning pacifists.—Ed:

★

To those who strive to make life an act of faith in the power of the spirit the fears and apprehensions expressed by H. Michael Hughes present no problem. To such people the trials and tribulations depicted in his letter are opportunities to exorcise their past uncertainties of faith and action and a preparation for the future.

There is no question of "going back"—either to old jobs or old ways of living; to do so would be to admit defeat. To go on to something new and dynamic is the only course open.

To ask for economic security as something to be valued in itself is to align oneself with the old order of things that led to the war. It is true, of course, that we all seek a security of tenure, but let us be very sure that in our seeking we are "seeking the kingdom." In this way the spring of spiritual strength that has, and is, sustaining us in these war years will grow within us in the years that follow, strengthening us in our relationships with other people in such a way that they, too, will be drawn to the life of the spirit.

STANLEY DU FEU

★

There may be no immediate answer to the post-war problem of the CO, but Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units, on behalf of its members and, we hope, in conjunction with members of other CO bodies, is searching for avenues of practical approach to it. We hope that COs will find their vocation in serving a wider society than themselves and do it cooperatively.

Already we have the nucleus of such vocational groups as H. Michael Hughes suggests. We invite him and similarly interested COs to write to D. Wallace Bell, c/o CPFLU, 58 Gayton Road, Harrow, Middx., stating present occupation and trade or professional interest.

FREDK. MITCHELL
Secretary, CPFLU.